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In-place or out-of-place? Host-guest encounter under ‘One Country, Two Systems’

This study aims to examine the mutual perceptions between Hong Kong residents and Mainland Chinese visitors when they share mall spaces in Hong Kong, further to investigate if and in what circumstances potential conflicts exist between them. Mixed methods, including a questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews, were used as a response to the call for including qualitative methods for more thorough understanding of the host-guest relationship. The survey findings suggest that Mainland tourists were perceived negatively while local residents were perceived positively in both Perception of Behaviour and Perception of Crowdedness. Three place identities are also analysed from in-depth interviews, namely Hong Kong residents being ‘in place’, Mainland visitors being ‘out of place’, and Hong Kong residents being ‘outsiders’. The politics of mobility arising from their conflicts leads to and increases fluidity of their place identity. This study contributes to the literature by examining perceptions on an individual level among the nationals of differing national identities in one single country. It also offers insights for authorities in managing relationships and tensions currently existing in tourism spaces. Such an analysis using the concepts of insideness-outsideness and in-place/out-of-place could be extended to a wider scope of relationships by including different stakeholders in tourism.

Keywords: host-guest relationship, mall landscape, in-place/out-of-place, insider-outsider, mobility, Hong Kong-China

Introduction

Shopping, which does not necessarily involve or only involve purchase, has become a way of life (Jackson, 1991; Kowinski, 1985) and an activity in modern urban public spaces that cultivates lifestyles and social interactions (Erkip, 2003; Shim, Santos, & Choi, 2013). Shopping malls as tourism resources should not be disregarded when analysing the rise of shopping tourism because these resources comprise an important aspect of the daily lives of ordinary shoppers. In such an urban context, encounters among local and foreign shoppers are inevitable and dynamic. Studies have been conducted on host-guest relationships in tourism anthropology, and conflicts

and tensions between locals and tourists have elicited attention from researchers since the 1970s (Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2010). Many studies have examined the perceptions and attitudes of hosts toward tourism development by using social exchange theory (e.g. Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Wang & Pfister, 2008), and others such as social representation theory (e.g. Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Choi & Murray, 2010; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2017), Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle Model (e.g. Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996; Snepenger, Murphy, O'Connell, & Gregg, 2003) and Doxey's Irridex Model (e.g. Cavus & Tanrisevdi, 2003; Mohd Shariff & Tahir, 2003; Williams, 1998). Wang and Chen (2015) utilised place identity theory to gauge residents' perceptions and attitudes. However, little research has been conducted on place identity in association with the mutual perceptions of residents and tourists with regard to sharing leisure resources in contemporary urban contexts, such as shopping malls.

Malling has become a popular leisure culture since shopping malls reached Asia in the 1960s. Since then, it has developed rapidly, particularly in East Asia (Shim et al., 2013). Hong Kong as an example has benefitted from the growth of Chinese tourism, which exerts a paramount impact on the revenue and growth of the industry globally. Since the implementation of the Individual Visit Scheme¹ (IVS) in 2003, Hong Kong has become a favourite shopping destination of mainland Chinese tourists due to its proximity and good selection of high-quality goods and services (Choi, Liu, Pang, & Chow, 2008). Despite economic gains, Hong Kong residents have complained about the overcrowded urban spaces due to the influx of Mainland visitors (Yep, 2012). This shows a need to investigate tensions in shopping malls in Hong Kong to understand the host-guest relationship between locals and visitors.

According to Hall and Page (2009), ‘the potential of social theory and much contemporary cultural geography to more generally inform tourism management, as opposed to the study of tourism per se, is an area that requires greater investigation’ (p. 7). This paper examines the mutual perceptions of Hong Kong residents and Mainland Chinese visitors when they encounter each other in shopping malls of Hong Kong, hoping to shed new light on the debate regarding hosts and guests by looking at place identity and politics in the relationship.

Host-Guest Relationship in Tourism

Host-guest relationship or encounter is fundamental to tourism (Smith, 1977), and understanding this relationship requires exploring the perceptions of residents and the experience of tourists (Sharpley, 2014). A harmonious relationship between hosts and guests is vital for maintaining sustainable tourism development (Griffiths & Sharpley, 2012) as host-guest interaction may affect their perceptions, feelings, behaviours and attitudes towards the individuals, the destination as well as tourism development; the effect can sometimes be negative. Many studies have been conducted on the perceptions and attitudes of residents toward tourism development (e.g. Siu, Lee, & Leung, 2012; Tosun, 2002; Vargas-Sánchez, Porras-Bueno, & Plaza-Mejía, 2011; Yeung & Leung, 2007) and tourists’ experience (e.g. Correia & Kozak, 2016; LeHew & Wesley, 2007; Li, Song, Chen, & Wu, 2012; Sirakaya-Turk, Nyaupane, & Uysal, 2014). However, this line of literature on host-guest interaction has been criticised from three aspects. First, this line of research has predominately focused on either hosts or guests, although several limited exceptions have been observed (e.g. Concu & Atzeni, 2012; Loi & Pearce, 2012; Maoz, 2006; Snepenger et al., 2003). Many of the models or variables in these studies have been developed and extended to predict or analyse the attitudes of either residents or tourists within their identity but not the relationship between hosts and guests (Woosnam, 2012) or the

conceptual framework of host-guest relations (Sharpley, 2014). Sharpley (2014) has highlighted the importance of including tourists in such studies for a comprehensive understanding of reality (Moufakkir & Reisinger, 2013). This emphasis gave rise to the second critique that the present literature does not consider perceptions and feelings on an individual level (Woosnam, 2012) despite the call to examine the feelings of residents toward tourists (Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000). This fundamental relationship is further overlooked as the perceptions and feelings towards individuals may influence their attitudes towards tourism development or result in a dilemma of supporting tourism in general but not welcoming certain types of tourists (Sharpley, 2014; Woosnam, 2012). Third, perception studies have extensively used quantitative methods (Bimonte & Punzo, 2016; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Sharpley, 2014), although the host-guest relationship originates from tourism anthropology. These studies tend to address ‘what’ but not the reasons for the perceptions and the subsequent consequences of these perceptions (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012). Thus, scholars call for qualitative methods to provide more in-depth insights into this relationship (Deery et al., 2012; McGehee & Andereck, 2004).

Distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in a normative landscape

The extent of mutual understandings determines the quality of interaction, satisfaction of tourists with their vacation, and quality of the ordinary life of residents. Mutual understanding allows locals and tourists to build trust and enhance tolerance, and subsequently minimise conflicts and tensions (Bochner, 1982). Cultural shock may lead to an unbalanced social relationship in which either side may differentiate themselves from ‘others’ (Hunter, 2001). The host-guest relationship has been founded on the dichotomy of the ‘self’ and the ‘others’ (Wearing & Wearing, 2001). The distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ can be explained by cultural differences among different nationalities, as suggested in various studies (e.g. Pearce, 1982;

Hofstede, 2001; Reisinger and Turner, 2003; Pizam & Reichel, 1996). Differing national cultures are manifested in tourist behaviour (Pizam & Sussmann, 1995), and this difference frames, informs and shapes the perceptions of the hosts towards the guests. However, Dann (1993) points out that the analysis of tourist behaviour should not be based solely on nationality. Different national identities or nationalisms among same nationals are significant in the host-guest relationship due to historical, social and cultural backgrounds. Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) found that encounters between Welsh hosts and English tourists can be influenced or conditioned by different combinations of nationalistic tendencies. They suggest that such an awareness of nationalism is based on ‘a dichotomy of “self” versus “other”’ (p. 2065) and that subsequently, their relationship may be prejudiced or affected by their nationalisms. The distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ will be further reinforced if the contact is not satisfactory, resulting in negative perceptions and even conflicts (Ap, 2001). However, the form of contact in the relationship varies, and oftentimes, it can be spontaneous and transitory or even limited to sharing of space (Sharpley, 2014). Therefore, it is more important to examine the perceptions of individuals to understand their wellbeing rather than perceptions towards tourism development (Sharpley, 2014).

Loi and Pearce (2012) examined perceptions of hosts and guests regarding annoying tourist behaviours in Macau using a 40-item construct. Smoking in public, spitting and littering, and breaking into lines are the most annoying and most frequently encountered behaviours reported by tourists and local residents. Nevertheless, the study focused only on perceptions of general annoying behaviours rather than mutual perceptions. Maoz (2006) extends the concept of ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry, 2002) to understand how hosts and guests conceptualise, imagine and construct images of each other in backpacker tourism in India. Maoz (2006) found that the tourist gaze is

exhibited in tourist behaviours which would influence the local gaze, resulting in local responses as cooperation, open resistance and 'veiled resistance'. The mutual gaze reflects a power struggle in which hosts and guests gaze at each other. However, such a power struggle, including the identities of 'us' and 'them' held by both hosts and guests, remains under-examined.

Relph's (1976) concept of 'insideness and outsideness' offers a geographical perspective of the host-guest relationship in tourism. This concept is associated with place identity. An individual is an insider of a place when he belongs to it and identifies with it. According to Relph (1976), 'the inside-outside division thus represents itself as a simple but basic dualism, one that is fundamental in our experiences of lived-space and one that provides the essence of place' (p. 49). This concept resonates with the 'in place' and 'out of place' notions suggested by Cresswell (1996). Place is used to construct normative geographies that define appropriate behaviour in a particular context. A normative landscape is structured in which an ideology of what is right and what is wrong is transmitted (Cresswell, 1996). Aside from geographical variables, socio-cultural values also play a role. The behaviour of an individual can be 'right' in one place but 'wrong' in another, as judged by place rules. Violation of these rules results in transgression which 'marks the shift from the unspoken unquestioned power of place over taken-for-granted behaviour to an official orthodoxy concerning what is proper as opposed to what is not proper – that which is in place to that which is out of place' (Cresswell, 1996, p. 10). This condition explains how crucial place is in defining 'us' and 'them' groups and in shaping identity that is 'as much by what we are not as by who we are' (Crang, 1998, p. 61).

Social interaction in the tourism context is impacted by a variety of social rules and cultural norms. The host-guest contact framed by respective cultures can result in positive or negative experiences. The presence of tourists and exploitation may cause hosts to develop a negative

attitude towards guests (Concu & Atzeni, 2012). Therefore, tourists are usually perceived to behave differently and considered to be outsiders in the destination due to the cultural differences (Pizam & Sussmann, 1995). Tourism is generally conceptualised as ‘quintessence of relationships which result from travel and sojourn by outsiders’ (Hunziker & Krapf, 1942; as cited in Sharpley, 2014, p. 38). Other labels include plagues and diseases (Cresswell, 1997), cool invaders (Iyer, 1988), golden hordes (Turner & Ash, 1976), and locust (Rowen, 2016). Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) revealed that nationalistic cognisant English tourists and Welsh hosts have demonstrated insecurity in self-national identity, and the strong attitude of the Welsh to protect their self-identity keeps English tourists ‘outside’ during their visit. Given a negative encounter, tourists may also regard themselves as outsiders or intruders (Bochner, 1982; Chang, 2000; Griffiths & Sharpley, 2012). In this context, an authority exists to enforce or strengthen the place rules (Cresswell, 1996), which implies a power struggle within the landscape. However, the division is unclear. Although ‘insideness’ and ‘outsideness’ feelings exist in a spectrum, the relationship between people and place is dynamic, similar to that between hosts and guests. Chang (2000) argues that the insider-outsider relationship is fluid. For example, the outsiders and insiders in Little India in Singapore are open to negotiation, resulting in varying senses of place attachment and identity. Nevertheless, little evidence from other contexts can be found in the literature.

This insider-outsider relationship may involve micro-politics. Kerkvliet's (2009) notion of everyday politics, which is defined as ‘people embracing, complying with, adjusting, and contesting norms and rules regarding authority over, production of, or allocation of resources and doing so in quiet, mundane, subtle expressions and acts that are rarely organised or direct’ (p. 232), is relevant. Kerkvliet (2009) categorises everyday politics into four forms, namely support,

compliance, modifications and evasions, and resistance. Eidse, Turner, and Oswin (2016) have applied this lens in combination with Cresswell's (2010) six facets of mobilities to explore the everyday experiences of street vendors in Hanoi, Vietnam. They have found informal mobilities in the processes of negotiation and resistance between stationary and itinerant vendors.

Mobility is the ability of an individual to move from one place to another, and it is closely related to accessibility (Stutz, 2006). However, mobility is more than movement from A to B (Jensen, 2014). It is staged partly by social relations, giving meaning to movement (Jensen, 2014). Cresswell (2010) conceptualises mobility as a combination of movement, representation, and practice. In this study, movement refers to motions incurred from various activities in shopping malls and represents the use of leisure time, resulting in an experience which is determined by practice either by choice or coercion. The six facets of mobilities include starting point, speed, rhythm, route, experience and friction (Cresswell, 2010). Experience denotes the feelings of movements; friction determines the reasons for not moving, the process of stopping and whether the stopping is voluntary or forced. Eidse et al. (2016) reported that itinerant vendors' experiences of mobility constitute a sense of 'out of place' because they are regarded by fixed local vendors as outsiders or migrants with lower socioeconomic status. The vendors encounter friction arising from the ban on street vending, resulting in compliance, permanent discontinuity of business, or temporary modification of their trade. This condition has explained the tensions among mobile subjects competing for the same space in an insider-outsider relationship, and the identities of insider and outsider may create or change the meaning of accessing a place, moving within the place, and also moving to other places. However, this discussion is not extensively evident in the tourism context.

Shopping Malls, Mallng, and Mainland Visitors in Hong Kong

Shopping space as a landscape

People develop a sense of place when they have subjective feelings towards a particular space in which they find an individual or group identity and in which their practices have become part of their daily experiences (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015). This condition is manifested in shopping malls, such that a mall is a leisure place produced with elements and processes of social and cultural changes. Owing to their development and changing roles, shopping malls have become different from a space that is purely for consumption. Malls have become places where people perform various activities for leisure and socialisation beyond simply shopping (Shim et al., 2013; Timothy, 2005) or strolling without any purpose (Jackson, 1991). Malls are places in which contacts in various forms and natures are encouraged, and different encounters provide shoppers unique experiences. This distinctively shapes the place identity among and within different groups, which are local residents and tourists in this study. Snepenger et al. (2003) investigated the use of shopping spaces by both local residents and tourists and their perceived impacts, and found that the tourist-heavy segment believes they exert huge positive impacts on the local district, whereas the local-light segment holds a very negative perception toward the shopping district. However, little research has examined place identity in the mall context.

Mainland visitors and malling in Hong Kong

Malling is deeply rooted in Hong Kong culture and was marked by the iconic opening of Ocean Terminal in the 1960s (Lui, 2001). Shopping malls were constructed with the shift of the service sector to target overseas tourists (known as tourism urbanization) (Mullins, 1999). Since the 1970s, a shopping mall culture has developed among locals due to their growing affluence, leading to openings of various shopping malls catering to locals (Lui, 2001). Despite Hong

Kong's long-established international reputation of being a shoppers' paradise, the city's shopping malls had never seen such large numbers of patrons before IVS. Shopping malls in Hong Kong have become a unique tourist landscape due to their growing importance and popularity among tourist shoppers from the Mainland. Statistics showed that shopping accounts for the largest share of the total expenditure of Mainland visitors to Hong Kong (72.9% for overnight visitors and 93.1% for same-day visitors in 2013) (HKSAR Legislative Council Secretariat, 2014). Mainland visitors constituted around 3-15% of the total shopping mall visitations in general (Xinhua News, 2006), and the number increases to 40% in malls near the border, such as Landmark North in Sheung Shui recently (Wong, 2014).

When crossing the border has become easier, Mainland visitors showed insatiable demands for various goods and necessities due to better product quality and bargains. This demand placed the blame on Mainland people for depleting local resources and increasing price levels, such as emptying the shelves of infant formula in Hong Kong after the tainted milk scandal (Ko, 2012). Tension is heightened by parallel trading (bulk purchase of goods in Hong Kong for reselling in mainland China at a profit) of various commodities ranging from leisure goods to daily necessities by day-trippers from mainland China (although Hong Kong citizens are believed to be involved in such economic activity), which has become more rampant after the implementation of IVS (Laidler & Lee, 2015). Parallel traders have crowded the streets and train stations, and smuggling of local resources outside Hong Kong has caused a local resource shortage, which has stirred resentment in popular parallel trading bases such as Sheung Shui (a border town in Hong Kong), leading to a series of the 'Liberate Sheung Shui' protests initiated by Sheung Shui residents (Tang, 2012).

Given that local agitations against mainland China could be attributed to the overstretching of local resources by Mainland visitors (Ip, 2012), shopping space as a leisure space and tourist resource has become a contested landscape in Hong Kong. Against this socio-economic background, this study focuses on the perceptions of locals and Mainland visitors towards each other to investigate if and in what circumstances potential conflicts exist between the two groups using quantitative and qualitative methods.

Methods

A mixed methods approach using a questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews was adopted as suggested for host-guest relationship research for the measurement of overlapping but different facets of the subject (Siu et al., 2012), so that a precise and correlational analysis of quantitative data can be performed and in-depth understanding of qualitative data can be obtained with the support of secondary data (Denscombe, 2010). The questionnaire survey was conducted first, followed by the personal in-depth interviews, to supplement the standardised questions with feelings, opinions and experiences, and to complement the analysis when a trend of responses is observed from the survey.

Questionnaire survey

The self-administered questionnaire was designed based on the study of Loi and Pearce (2012) on perceptions of generally annoying tourist behaviours from perspectives of locals and tourists in Macau. Items pertinent to the context of shopping malls were considered. Given that several items were expressed with negativity or subjectivity, those selected were coined in a more neutral manner to avoid being biased towards either side of the target population. Together with some additional items adopted from previous studies on tourist behaviour, a 17-item measure

instrument using a five-point Likert scale was developed. The questions were tested on a group of four postgraduates, and a pilot study was conducted in Langham Place, one of the field sites, to gather information on the logic and appropriateness of the questions, structure and readability of the instrument, response rate, and average completion time. The 50 responses to the 17-item instrument were positive except for the readability of the long table, which was revised with displaying statements in alternate colours.

Shopping malls were selected based on the popularity of malls among residents and tourists, range of shops, scale of malls, and accessibility for conducting the survey. According to a study on shopping mall preferences (CUHK School of Hotel and Tourism Management, 2012) and an informal survey on locals and Mainland visitors, the questionnaire survey was implemented in five shopping malls, namely New Town Plaza, Langham Place, IFC Mall, Times Square, and Citygate Outlets (shown on Map 1), on weekdays and weekends in October 2013, partly during the National Day Golden Week of Mainland China.

[Map 1]

This study employed a purposive sampling technique which involves designation of a group of people as the unit of analysis based on their traits or known attributes (Nardi, 2014). The samples were hand-picked based on their relevance to the issue studied and existing knowledge about the topic (Nardi, 2014). Non-probable purposive sampling was deemed appropriate because of the paucity of statistics on the population of shopping mall users. Traditional Chinese, simplified Chinese, and English versions of the questionnaire were created because Hong Kong is a bilingual society in which both Chinese and English are official languages. As a result, 560 valid questionnaires were obtained (Table 1).

[Table 1]

In-depth personal interviews

Ten in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted from October to December 2013 with respondents of diverse socio-demographic backgrounds. Five to 25 in-depth interviews are suggested to be appropriate for small-scale research projects (Denscombe, 2010). The sample was deemed sufficient because in-depth interviews were to supplement the extensive survey and complement it with some explanations to obtain a more complete picture of the issue, on top of limited resources. Interviewees were invited upon the completion of the questionnaire or through personal referrals. Interviews lasted for 30-90 minutes and took place in public areas based on the interviewees' preferences.

Interviewee anonymity was assured by assigning identifiers R1-R5 and V1-V5 to resident and visitor interviewees respectively. The socio-demographics of the interviewees are summarised in Table 2. Interviewees were asked about their perceptions of sharing shopping spaces and perceptions of each other in terms of their behaviours and attitudes in shopping malls in Hong Kong. Concrete examples of circumstances were provided to complement the survey and elicit elaborations with depth. According to the survey results, Hong Kong respondents held relatively more negative perceptions towards Mainland visitors than the visitors did towards the residents. Hong Kong respondents were thus additionally asked if they had any behavioural modifications.

Data analysis was conducted in several steps. The interviews were transcribed by the first author by listening to them several times, and the transcripts were 're-visited' several times to standardise the coding of similar expressions for a coherent content analysis. Summaries were

then written for each transcript regarding the perceptions and experience of residents and Mainland visitors accompanied with illustrative quotes. Themes and issues, such as place identity, cultural differences and coping mechanisms, were identified and collated, followed by linkage with the literature review through discussions between the authors.

[Table 2]

Results

Survey results

The first 15 perception statements were about the behaviours or attitudes of individuals, such as personal virtues, use of public facilities and spaces, politeness, and helpfulness. The last two were related to the respondents' feelings when sharing shopping mall space. The statements were categorised into two groups, with the first 15 statements belonging to Perception of Behaviour (PoB) and the last two statements belonging to Perception of Crowdedness (PoC), to facilitate data analysis and discussion.

Cronbach's coefficient alpha was used to test the consistency of the groupings. A reliability analysis was performed for both sub-samples, and all Cronbach's α values were larger than 0.859, which is well above the minimum acceptable level of 0.5 (Hair, Black, & Babin, 2010). This value shows internal consistency and justifies the categorisation of the perception statements.

An independent sample t-test was performed to compare the means of perceptions of the two samples, and the results are shown in Table 3. The perceptions held by Hong Kong residents and Mainland visitors were significantly different in both PoB ($t = -29.103$, $p < 0.001$) and PoC ($t = 8.163$, $p < 0.001$). Generally, Hong Kong residents had negative perceptions towards Mainland

visitors, whereas Mainland visitors had more positive perceptions towards Hong Kong residents in most statements.

[Table 3]

In terms of PoB, Hong Kong residents disagreed with or remained neutral about most of the statements. Among Hong Kong residents, the most negative perception towards Mainland visitors was that the latter did not care about hygiene, with 80% in the options of disagree and strongly disagree [mean (M_1)=1.95]. Over 75% of Hong Kong residents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements ‘they [Mainland visitors] follow the queue’ and ‘they give way/seat to the needy’, both with a mean score of 2.07. Mainland visitors received higher ratings about their friendliness, with a mean score of above 2.79. In the visitor sample, perceptions were skewed. Hong Kong residents were highly perceived to follow the queue [mean (M_2)=4.14]. Similarly, several statements received agreement from over 80% of visitor respondents, including ‘they [Hong Kong residents] care about hygiene’ (M_2 =4.10), ‘they care about personal images’ (M_2 =4.04), ‘they use the common facilities properly’ (M_2 =4.03), ‘they observe local law and order’ (M_2 =4.01), and ‘they use the common spaces properly’ (M_2 =4.01).

As for PoC, Hong Kong residents agreed with the two statements, whereas Mainland visitors disagreed with them. Regarding the statement ‘they [their counterparts] affect my enjoyment of the shopping spaces’, a total of 47.7% of the Hong Kong respondents rated agree or strongly agree, whereas only 25.8% of the visitors did so. For the statement ‘they [their counterparts] cause the shopping spaces to be crowded with people’, 63.9% of the Hong Kong residents and only 26.8% of the Mainland visitors agreed.

Analysis of in-depth interviews

Hong Kong residents being 'in place'

The survey and interview data showed that passive insider and outsider identities were attached to Hong Kong residents and Mainland visitors, respectively, based on their mutual perceptions in shopping malls. The behaviour of residents was perceived to be proper, and the good qualities they exhibit have become benchmarks, thus giving them an 'in-place' identity. Many of the perception statements highly rated in the survey were also mentioned by the interviewees.

V3: Local people follow the rules, the hygienic conditions are very good, which impresses me very much. They were very clean and did not make places dirty, so my light-coloured clothes did not get dirty; you know, this is almost impossible in Mainland China.

V4: They follow rules and are hygienic, generally patient and friendly.

When talking about their feelings, the visitors tended to compare themselves with the residents. Although they did not perceive themselves negatively as plagues and diseases (Cresswell, 1997) or locust (Rowen, 2016), the visitors distinguished themselves as 'out-of-place us' from the 'in-place them'. Despite that they did not experience any negative encounters that made them feel an outsider as what Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) found, this helps confirm the insider identity of residents. Their positive perceptions reinforce the rules, hence the insider status of Hong Kong residents and outsider status of Mainland visitors.

V1: They are really friendly and nice, polite when doing anything. We have a very good impression of Hong Kong people... Indeed, I wonder if we Mainland people have disturbed you Hong Kong people because you all are very nice and polite. Comparatively, we are not.

V2: Compared with Mainland people, Hong Kong people are much better, they follow the order.

Although the residents were not perceived to be very friendly to Mainland visitors compared with other statements in the survey, they gained credits from the visitors in an encounter of language differences.

V2: I did not know Cantonese, so I talked in English, but not everyone knew English. Although they did not know English, they were still friendly. So, I spoke in Mandarin.

Encountering these differences, visitors attempt to adapt or comply with local cultures. Such compliance helps reaffirm indirectly the insider status of residents.

R4: I think sometimes they may make places dirty due to their low awareness...but I have to acknowledge that some have awareness. My relatives and friends did say that 'we should behave well when going to Hong Kong'; they tried to discipline themselves, adapt to or learn local cultures, and stand on the right on escalators. Some learnt to hold the door for others when going in/out of malls as they observed from the locals; As they are new to Hong Kong, they are eager to ask.

Mainland visitors being 'out of place'

Mainland visitors' behaviour was perceived to deviate from that of locals and less appropriate. The fact that they do not follow local rules or norms has attached the 'outsider' identity to Mainland visitors. The negatively perceived survey statements were also evident from the interviews and repeatedly raised, such as not caring about hygiene and not following the queue, which are also some annoying tourist behaviours perceived by residents and tourists in general (Loi & Pearce, 2012).

R1: They raise a big uproar in malls, yell, are very noisy, cut lines, and spit in the mall.

R5: When we were lining up to see themed decorations, some of them suddenly cut in front of us.

Some resident respondents were negative about Mainland visitors' use of facilities and spaces in shopping malls. Especially when residents were perceived to use facilities and spaces properly, this shows a contrast in this normative landscape in which the ideology of what is right and wrong is transmitted (Cresswell, 1996).

R2: Their discipline is not good, they do not follow rules, cut lines, and eat in areas where eating is not allowed. They also occupy spaces or facilities, such as benches, which they do not really need, and other shopping mall users cannot use.

R3: They do not follow local rules, make public facilities such as toilets dirty, squat near big windows, and carry big suitcases, which always block the passages... really occupy many spaces inside malls.

R5: I see them squatting everywhere; I wonder why they do not sit on benches.

These examples also demonstrate a cultural difference or even cultural shock with regard to what a tourist should do or should not do in their destination or particular places. This depends on the interpretation of tourists' culture by residents and awareness of local cultures by tourists as well as how they negotiate through 'embracing, complying with, adjusting and contesting' (Kerkvliet, 2009, p. 232), shaping the perceptions from their encounters, and reinforcing the distinction between hosts and guests.

R1: These are their cultures, but only part of the visitors. Due to the cultural difference, visitors should try to adapt to the local culture when coming to Hong Kong. However, some do not listen, particularly the nouveau riche. For example, when we told them that they should adapt to our cultures, such as lining up, they argued with us, such as telling us that they supplied us with water.

Sharing of shopping space has made Mainland visitors ‘outsiders’ when they were perceived to have caused disturbance and crowdedness. When residents and tourists do not have any contact, the host-guest relationship is concerned about sharing of space (Sharpley, 2014). Whether this sharing of space is pleasant depends on the perceived presence of tourists. For instance, R2 found it disturbing because Chinese visitors were thought to ‘have caused the malls to become crowded with people’. If the presence of tourists is perceived to be presence of ‘others’, such a perception may result in an unsatisfactory or negative experience.

R5: They cut lines, do not follow the order, and fall over other people. For example, during sale in some shops, they are quite, umm, ‘wild’ and make clothes messy in the shops... they really buy so much as if they cannot get those things anymore, and I wonder if they really cannot get those things from the Mainland.

Although shopping or malling is a leisure activity for residents and tourists, the nature of this activity may also affect the perceptions of individuals and their experience in malls. For residents, shopping is a pastime that does not necessarily involve consumption; they could stroll without a purpose (Jackson, 1991). However, shopping is a main purpose of many Mainland visitors for traveling to Hong Kong (Huang & Hsu, 2005), and they were thought to cause disturbance as ‘they carry so many bags because they shop a lot’ (R4). This difference distinguishes visitors from residents and affects enjoyment in malls.

Hong Kong residents being ‘outsiders’

Imbalanced perceptions have resulted in Hong Kong residents being in place and Mainland visitors being out of place. Mainland visitors are regarded as outsiders in shopping malls in Hong Kong because their norms do not match those of local shopping mall users. Meanwhile, residents show responses to the perceived crowd in shopping malls by changing their shopping

destinations and switching to other leisure activities. The importance of home space is also emphasised. This raises a question: who are out of place?

Given the perceived presence of tourists and affected enjoyment in shopping malls, several residents have developed new preferences and identified places to go to and to avoid for mall shopping. Residents tend to avoid malls frequented by visitors which have created resistance, which resonates with findings of previous studies (e.g. Concu & Atzeni, 2012; Maoz, 2006; Snepenger et al., 2003). The resistance originates not only from a particular type of tourists but also the size or presence of the crowd.

R1: I seldom go to the malls in Tsim Sha Tsui now; usually I go to malls in Kowloon Bay and Kowloon City that are not popular among Mainland visitors. I try to escape from the crowd especially during weekends and holidays, because there must be noisy.

R2: I now go to malls that are less popular among Mainland visitors, such as Olympian City in Tai Kok Tsui. I also go to shopping malls less frequently during holidays.

R3: I used to go to TMT Plaza in Tuen Mun but do not go there anymore...too many Mainland visitors.

R4: I seldom go to the malls in Mongkok and Causway Bay because too many people there.

Aside from changing preferences, residents have also attempted to cope with the presence of Mainland visitors by switching to other leisure activities. Such evasions vary at different temporal-spatial intensities.

R2: I can do other things than going to malls, but will not do this very deliberately.

R1: I leave Hong Kong to go to other Asian countries if I have long holidays.

Concerned about space and sense of crowdedness, home space was perceived by locals to be more pleasant or feasible to spend leisure time in, especially for those who cannot afford traveling as a coping mechanism. R3 preferred staying at home to going to malls, an opinion shared and further elaborated by R5.

R5: When I go to Causeway Bay, I feel, wow, so many people, and want to leave and go back home. I enjoy staying at home because I enjoy much space. I spend more time at home now. I really feel... the lack of space. Budget-wise, I cannot afford to travel frequently. I cannot afford to go to Taiwan for a long weekend like other people.

Discussion

Politics of mobility is apparent in sharing of mall spaces between residents and Mainland visitors, particularly the facets of experience and friction as suggested by Cresswell (2010). It can be argued that Hong Kong residents are mobile but immobile outsiders. In the level of leisure-seeking, Hong Kong residents have become highly mobile in the spectrum of leisure. Aside from the perceived 'inappropriate' behaviour, the presence of crowds of Mainland visitors who have been conceptualised as 'outsiders' is a factor that influences mobility, as revealed in PoC. To evade crowds, residents have altered their leisure behaviour by going to other shopping malls that are less frequented by Mainland visitors, taking up other leisure activities, and even traveling overseas. This seemingly has provided more choices to Hong Kong residents to spend their leisure time, and other places have become more 'accessible'. In the level of visiting shopping malls, Hong Kong residents are relatively less mobile. A majority of local mall users believe that the shopping spaces have become more crowded because of Mainland visitors. Thus, the *experience* of locals in malls in Hong Kong is no longer pleasant (Cresswell, 2010), as revealed from the highly-rated statement 'They [Mainland visitors] affect my enjoyment of the

shopping spaces' and several comments from Mainland visitors about the disturbance they cause. Crowds keep some residents out of the shopping malls, making shopping malls less 'accessible' for them. This result supports the findings of Snepenger et al. (2003) that the locals agree that tourism has caused congestion in shopping spaces and they tend to avoid areas frequented by tourists. The crowd of shoppers from Mainland China has caused *friction* for Hong Kong residents visiting shopping malls (Cresswell, 2010). The change in mall habits and use of leisure time also reveals the politics of modifications and evasions based on their experiences (Kerkvliet, 2009).

Owing to the less pleasant experience in mall space, home space is more preferred because it is perceived as more spacious. This would mean residents have become less mobile, and their choices of spending leisure time are restricted or limited. A power struggle exists in this insider-outsider host-guest relationship. The new insiders – Mainland visitors – have changed the place rules of the host context. According to Davis (1999), place identity is not derived from 'the uses space is designed for, but the uses people find for space' (p. 453). A majority of Hong Kong respondents no longer find shopping malls appropriate places for shopping and other leisure activities. They prefer not visiting malls, except for convenience, for example R5 pointed out that 'unless I need to use the toilet or enjoy air-conditioning there'; they have become outsiders of shopping malls in Hong Kong. This is similar to what Chang (2000) argues that hosts and guests can bear a dual-identity of insider and outsider in one place, and additionally that the identity status is influenced and changed by the power struggle, creating politics of mobility.

The in-place/out-of-place dichotomy partly explains the recent host-guest tension between Hong Kong residents and Mainland visitors. Many netizens have complained online about the unacceptable behaviour of Mainland visitors in shopping malls and other public spaces in Hong

Kong. For example, Mainland parents allow their children to defecate in shopping mall spaces (Apple Daily, 2010; Hong Kong Economic Journal, 2016). These behaviours may be perceived as proper or acceptable by Mainland visitors, but are against local cultures, laws, or norms in particular places, such as public transport, cinemas and toilets. Whether these cultural differences would induce conflicts depends on the capacity of Hong Kong residents to experience cultural shock. This capacity may determine how other cultures are interpreted, how ‘appropriate’ foreign cultures are against local cultures, and how much the hosts appreciate the guests’ culture. Obviously, the cultures of Mainland visitors are not perceived to be in line with the local cultures, resulting in the ‘us versus them’ dichotomy.

Tension is exacerbated by cultural differences inherited from colonial rule. After one and a half centuries under British influence, Hong Kong has acquired a blend of Chinese and Western cultures and values. Even after the handover in 1997, some Hong Kong people still bear different national identities. A poll about Hong Kong people’s ethnic identity showed that only 18.1% of the respondents regarded themselves as ‘Chinese’, and 41.9% and 27.4% identified themselves as ‘Hongkonger’ and ‘Hongkonger in China’, respectively (HKUPOP, 2016). As Dann (1993) and Griffiths and Sharpley (2012) suggest, these differing national identities are the root of the differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ or ‘Hong Kong people’ and ‘Mainland Chinese’ (Ko, 2012). Therefore, Mainland visitors, in general, are considered outsiders based on the socio-cultural norms transmitted within a normative landscape (Cresswell, 1996). Also, parallel traders are assumed to be Mainland Chinese taking advantage of IVS and are notoriously labelled as ‘locust’ by activists. Resistance has resulted in anti-locust campaigns, such as ‘Recover Tuen Mun’ and ‘Recover Shatin’ (Tuen Mun and Shatin are two border towns popular among day-trippers), with protesters strolling their suitcases in shopping malls to demonstrate that Mainland

visitors' suitcases have disturbed them (Siu, 2014; Wong, Siu, & Ip, 2014; Xiang, 2016). These protests have demonstrated more intense resistance to reclaim their place identity beyond shopping malls; however, these activists only represent a small group of locals. Moreover, it should not be ignored that visitors have also attempted to develop a sense of insideness by evaluating their behaviour and learning from locals as a form of compliance.

Conclusion

Tourism is closely linked with people's everyday lives. This study reveals that Mainland visitors and Hong Kong residents bear a dual insider-outsider place identity. A power struggle occurs within the host-guest relationship in shopping malls as a contested normative landscape. Mainland visitors are out of place in the sense that they are perceived not to follow the local norms exhibited by in-place residents. Local residents feel or become out of place when they encounter visitors with different practices in shopping malls in Hong Kong. Everyday politics are under negotiations through modifications, evasions, or even resistance on the side of residents, whereas compliance to local place rules on the side of visitors. Given the fluid division between insideness and outsideness, the power struggle in effect within the host-guest encounter creates politics of mobility, thereby increasing the intricacy and ambiguity of place identity, and consequently, the tourist-host relationship.

Understanding such a dynamic relationship in host-guest encounters is theoretically significant. This study included both hosts and guests in the equation to examine perceptions at the individual level. The study focused on the relationship between residents and a particular type of tourists rather than tourism development which is a well-researched theme in the perception literature. The mixed methods approach helped describe *what* the perceptions are and explain *why* the perceptions and the insider-outsider identity are formed, and further unveil

everyday politics and the fluidity of place identity in the host-guest relationship. The study is made unique by its setting that involves encounters among nationals with disparate senses of nationalism. In Hong Kong which is governed by the 'One Country, Two Systems' principle, cultural differences between local residents and Mainland visitors are evident in the host-guest relationship despite both parties being Chinese. Findings from this setting contributes to the tourism literature by highlighting nationalism as a factor that influences potent host-guest interaction. Furthermore, this study contributes to the literature by providing an up-to-date example of using the nationalism factor rather than nationality (Dann, 1993) in an intra-national tourism context. Further research in both intra- and inter-national tourism contexts is required to justify nationalism as an explanatory factor to explicate the dynamic nature of host-guest relationship and place identity (Griffiths & Sharpley, 2012).

This research is also empirically important. One significant finding highlights the imbalanced perceptions of residents and Mainland visitors toward each other, and this finding is consistent with that of previous studies, which suggests that perceptions toward particular groups of tourists may not be positively correlated with general support for tourism development (Sharpley, 2014; Woosnam, 2012). It is essential to understand the well-being of the individuals in the relationship although tourism development has received general support. Given that this research only covers Mainland visitors, which accounts for the largest share of Hong Kong's tourist arrivals, a more holistic research is required to compare various groups of visitors at different periods.

Practically, this study offers insights for authorities who seek to understand and manage relationships and tensions currently existing in tourism spaces. The findings could aid in planning new leisure resources that can serve as tourism attractions without excluding the

hosts and guests. Meanwhile, collaborative efforts are needed from the Chinese Government. Early in 2006, a civilised tourism campaign was introduced to promote quality tourist behaviour (Chio, 2010). In the first tourism law in effect in 2013 in Mainland China, tourist behaviour was singled out in several articles. China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) (2013) also issued 'Guidebook for Civilised Tourism' to remind outbound tourists about social norms in culturally different destinations. However, these measures are not effective in reducing criticism on Chinese tourists' behaviour. Thus, the campaign and guidebook should be widely publicised through ways such as social media and civil education.

Shopping malls represent one of the many urban contested landscapes in which tensions and conflicts between different groups of people are present. The venues may epitomise the broader relationship across the territory. However, malls embody only one site of tensions. Other urban tourism contexts that have gained popularity among tourists and locals may be investigated because 'more empirical studies on East Asian urban tourism utilising both quantitative and interpretive approaches are needed to address numerous unanswered questions regarding cultural phenomena in East Asian tourism markets' (Shim & Santos, 2014, p. 113). Such an analysis using the concepts of insideness-outsideness and in-place/out-of-place could be extended to a wider scope of relationships by including different stakeholders in tourism, such as governments, merchants, and frontline staff, within and outside the tourism industry to garner a more comprehensive picture of the interactions involving different forms and natures of contact in the urban tourism setting.

Note

¹ Individual Visit Scheme was implemented on 28 July 2003 in four Guangdong cities (Dongguan, Foshan, Jiangmen and Zhongshan) as a tourism liberalisation scheme under the Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement. It allows mainland Chinese residents with permanent household registration in 49 Mainland cities to visit Hong Kong on an individual basis. The endorsement holder can stay in Hong Kong for not more than seven days in each visit (HKSAR Tourism Commission, 2013).

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For Peer Review

Table 1. Socio-demographics of questionnaire respondents.

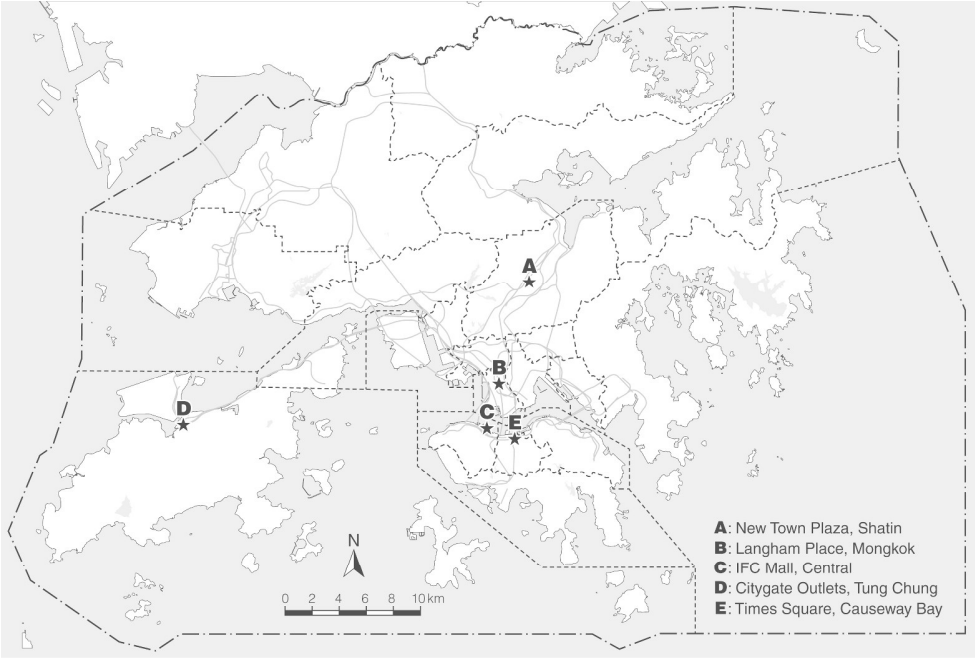
Table 2. Socio-demographics of interviewees.

Table 3. Mean scores of perception statements.

Map 1. Locations of data collection sites. (The map is generated in ArcGIS version 10.1
www.esri.com/software/arcgis)

Word count: 10414 words

For Peer Review



242x163mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Review

Table 1. Socio-demographics of questionnaire respondents.

Variables	Local residents		Mainland visitors		Respondents	
	N (=282)	Valid %	N (=278)	Valid %	N (=560)	Valid %
Gender						
Male	103	36.5	98	35.3	201	35.9
Female	179	63.5	180	64.7	359	64.1
Age						
Below 20	106	37.6	50	18	156	27.9
20-29	93	33	155	55.8	248	44.3
30-39	44	15.6	45	16.2	89	15.9
40-49	25	8.9	16	5.8	41	7.3
50 or above	14	5	12	4.3	26	4.6
Educational level						
Primary or below	3	1.1	9	3.2	12	2.1
Junior secondary	31	11	7	2.5	38	6.8
Senior secondary	88	31.1	46	16.5	134	23.9
Associate/High diploma	37	13.1	12	4.3	49	8.7
Bachelor	92	32.5	158	56.8	250	44.6
Postgraduate or above	32	11.3	46	16.5	78	13.9
Tourism-related job						
Yes	35	12.4	14	5	49	8.8
Not	247	87.6	264	95	511	91.3
Personal monthly income (HKD)						
Below \$10000	154	54.8	/	/	154	27.5
\$10000-\$19999	61	21.7	/	/	61	10.9
\$20000-\$29999	25	8.9	/	/	25	4.5
\$30000-\$39999	15	5.3	/	/	15	2.7
\$40000-\$49999	10	3.6	/	/	10	1.8
\$50000 or above	15	5.3	/	/	15	2.7
Personal monthly income (RMB)						
Below ¥1000	/	/	84	30.5	84	15.1
¥1000-¥4999	/	/	80	29.1	80	14.3
¥5000-¥9999	/	/	64	23.3	64	11.5
¥10000-¥14999	/	/	17	6.2	17	3
¥15000-¥19999	/	/	17	6.2	17	3
¥20000 or above	/	/	13	4.7	13	2.3

Table 2. Socio-demographics of interviewees.

No.	Status	Gender	Age group	Education	Occupation	Personal monthly income (HKD)	Length of residence in Hong Kong (Years)
R1	Local resident	Male	20-29	Bachelor	Programme Engineer	\$20000-\$29999	24
R2	Local resident	Female	20-29	Bachelor	Optometrist	\$10000-\$19999	23
R3	Local resident	Female	50-59	Junior secondary	Housewife; part-time caregiver	Below \$10000	50
R4	Local resident	Female	20-29	Bachelor	Lead researcher	\$20000-\$29999	5
R5	Local resident	Female	30-39	Associate	Yoga teacher	\$10000-\$19999	29
No.	Status	Gender	Age group	Education	Occupation	Personal monthly income (RMB)	Place of origin
V1	Mainland visitor	Female	20-29	Bachelor	Sales Training Manager	¥5000-¥9999	Hubei Province
V2	Mainland visitor	Male	20-29	Bachelor	Manager (Securities)	¥5000-¥9999	Beijing Municipality
V3	Mainland visitor	Male	20-29	Postgraduate	IT Engineer	¥10000-¥14999	Beijing Municipality
V4	Mainland visitor	Male	20-29	Postgraduate	Lecturer	¥5000-¥9999	Gansu Province
V5	Mainland visitor	Female	30-39	Associate	Bank teller	¥5000-¥9999	Guangdong Province

Table 3. Mean scores of perception statements.

Perception statements ¹	Means		t-test	
	Hong Kong residents	Mainland visitors	t	p-value
<i>Perception of Behaviour</i>	2.36	3.91	-29.103	.000
a. They observe local law and order	2.33	4.01	-25.653	.000
b. They follow the queue	2.07	4.14	-31.751	.000
c. They give way/seat to the needy	2.07	3.75	-21.77	.000
d. They care about hygiene	1.95	4.10	-31.178	.000
e. They care about personal images	2.24	4.04	-24.388	.000
f. They speak in a good manner	2.28	3.82	-21.915	.000
g. They have a good table manner	2.29	3.87	-23.48	.000
h. They use the common facilities properly	2.22	4.03	-26.57	.000
i. They use the common spaces properly	2.19	4.01	-26.599	.000
j. They are helpful	2.43	3.82	-18.543	.000
k. They are patient	2.24	3.66	-17.954	.000
l. They are polite to other shopping mall users	2.37	3.88	-20.767	.000
m. They are friendly to local residents	2.79	3.92	-16.005	.000
n. They are friendly to Mainland visitors	3.06	3.69	-8.762	.000
o. They are friendly to foreign visitors	2.84	3.94	-16.697	.000
<i>Perception of Crowdedness</i>	3.53	2.79	8.163	.000
p. They affect my enjoyment of the shopping spaces	3.35	2.79	5.999	.000
q. They cause the shopping spaces to be crowded with people	3.70	2.79	9.198	.000

Note: 1. Scored on 5-point Likert scale with 1= "Strongly disagree", 5= "Strongly agree".
Significant at the 0.05 level